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Presidential Suffrage Number

National Suffrage News

FEBRUARY, 1917

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VOLUME III NUMBER 2

AMERICA

My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing;
Land where my fathers died,
Land of the pilgrim's pride;
From ev'ry mountain side
Let freedom ring.

My native country, thee,
Land of the noble free,
Thy name I love;
I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills;
My heart with rapture thrills,
Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze,
And ring from all the trees
Sweet freedom's song;
Let mortal tongues awake,
Let all that breathe partake;
Let rocks their silence break,
The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God! to Thee,
Author of liberty,
To Thee we sing;
Long may our land be bright
With freedom's holy light;
Protect us by Thy might,
Great God, our King.

National SNS

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS

Continuing the
HEADQUARTERS NEWS LETTER

A printed attempt to maintain intimate contact between the National American Woman Suffrage Association and its thousands of members throughout the country.

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ROSE YOUNG, Editor

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Congressional Committee
Headquarters:
1626 Rhode Island Ave.,
Washington, D. C.

EDITORIAL

Salutatory

With its hand on its heart, and the one-time *Headquarters News Letter* behind its back, the NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS assures the suffragist reading public of its desire to serve and to please.

As the official organ of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, it should surely be able to do the one. As suffrage news for 1917 promises to be uniformly good news, it may hope, by the mere exercise of its chronicling function, to do the other.

* * *

Keeping up with Suffrage

On the next page will be found what is, at the moment of going to press, the latest suffrage map for 1917. But no guarantee is given that it will be the latest by the time this book is opened. Keeping up with suffrage is a precarious undertaking in this auspicious year 1917. Hardly was the ink dry on the new map which added North Dakota with her five electoral votes to the suffrage column, when word came over the wires, "We Win Ohio." And that nice new map is out of date before it is in circulation.

However, it can be borne. It's worth a new map to get the twenty-four electoral votes of the great commonwealth of Ohio. The Illinois victory planted the suffrage banner fairly in the Middle West. Ohio's triumph carries it on into the North Central States. Count East from West, the Yukon to Lower California, and you find the Pacific Coast tier of states, from Alaska through British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and California, white for suffrage. The next tier from the Northwest Territory, through Alberta, Idaho, Utah and Arizona, is likewise solid suffrage land. Saskatchewan, Montana, Wyoming and Colorado keep the ranks intact down to New Mexico. In the fifth tier, Manitoba, North Dakota and Kansas hold the balance against South Dakota, Nebraska, Oklahoma and Texas. There is not a suffrage state in the sixth tier. But in the seventh tier stands Illinois, and in the ninth is now Ohio. How is Indiana in the eighth tier, with Illinois on one side and Ohio on the other, to resist the pressure? It is not believed that she will.

The Ohio triumph brings the number of electors whom women have a voice in choosing to 120. Equal in importance is the fact that Ohio, the fourteenth state to be listed in the suffrage column, has become the new salient, or wedge, pushing eastward.

Who can doubt that the thin black line of Atlantic States will soon be penetrated by the new democratic faith? By referendum or by legislative enactment some state is sure soon to let the light break through.

Will it be New York?

* * *

"If" Or "Until"?

Some are saying, "*If* the United States becomes involved in war, we stand ready to serve our country."

Others are saying, "*Until* the United States becomes involved in war, we will not by thought or promise heighten the tension."

On these two conjunctions have hung vivid differences of opinion during the present national crisis. Violent militarists would keep the country steeped in preparedness thought and galvanized with preparedness activity the year round. Violent pacifists would so subordinate preparedness that preparedness ceases to be the word. Defense becomes the word. With the passivist defense ceases to be the word, submission becomes the word.

There is hardly a suffragist who is not a pacifist. But pacifism knows many degrees of self-commitment. Pacifism is an ideal toward which we are all struggling. The essential point about an ideal is the point of application. Pacifists are in no sort of unity on it. Witness the inability of the peace societies to get together on any constructive program. In spite of which, one is glad to concede that if pacifism's great leverage is not, as yet, inherent in the ability to work out these practical adjustments, it does inhere in the creating of a mind for peace, the will for peace. Its surest point of application lies in prevention.

Women are averse to war. They are averse to the creation of a war psychology in advance of the event. They deprecate ill-considered war talk in the name of patriotism. They want peace. They work for peace. They pray for peace. If peace can be compelled, they will compel it. But suffragists have shown that women will rally around America's need, if war can no longer be averted.

Suffragists are not usually considered precipitate in patriotism. Indeed, the burden of accusation has always come the other way around. Of all people, wordy jingoism has left the suffragist untouched. The fact that suffragists the country over deem the moment fitting for discussion of, and action on, the crisis which the nation confronts is distressing evidence of the imminence of the crisis.

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE CAMPAIGN DATES BACK TO 1873

With two single victories already scored in the presidential suffrage campaign, the "big drive" goes merrily on. Legislatures seem almost uniformly favorable to the presidential suffrage idea. Probably this is because of the obvious justice of the proposition. What a legislature can pass, it can repeal. If presidential suffrage does not prove expedient in any State, the legislature of that State can set the matter right by taking away the measure of franchise it has bestowed. In Ohio that measure varies somewhat from the measure granted in the two other states that have presidential suffrage. In both Illinois and North Dakota women have municipal suffrage under the provisions of their presidential suffrage bill. In Ohio they will get presidential suffrage only.

The determination of what citizens may possess the right to vote for presidential electors rests with the legislatures of the several States. Any legislature may extend that privilege to women. Members of those political parties which in National and State platforms have endorsed woman suffrage by State action cannot logically withhold support to the extension of this form of suffrage to the women of their respective States. This proposal was first introduced in the Indiana legislature in 1873 and several States have had the measure under consideration since that time. It has frequently passed one House or the other, but hesitation upon the ground of the possible unconstitutionality of the law and the non-support of political parties has delayed its establishment. A bill containing a presidential suffrage clause passed both Houses of the Illinois legislature and became a law in 1913 and has since become known as the Illinois Woman Suffrage Law.

The question of the constitutionality of the Illinois Law has been raised in the courts several times and every time it has been sustained by the Supreme Court. One of these cases tested the constitutionality of the section of the law permitting the women to vote for presidential electors and the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the law. It was held by some persons that the vote of Illinois would not be counted in the presidential election of 1916 because women had shared in the election. The election passed and no question of throwing out the vote of the women or the State has even been proposed. The prompt passage of a presidential woman suffrage bill by the legislatures of North Dakota and Ohio is an indication of the changed attitude of public sentiment toward this form of suffrage for women and is unquestionably the beginning of a movement which will end only when the law has been passed by all State legislatures.

The Constitution of the United States provides:

Article II, Section I. II—Each State *shall appoint in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct*, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress. . . .

The source of this power of the State legislatures being the United States Constitution, the word "male" defining the qualification of the usual electors of a State does not preclude the vote for presidential electors being extended to women, for, according to Article VI, Section II—This Constitution . . . shall be the Supreme Law of the Land.

SUFFRAGE WEEK AMONG THE NEWSPAPERS

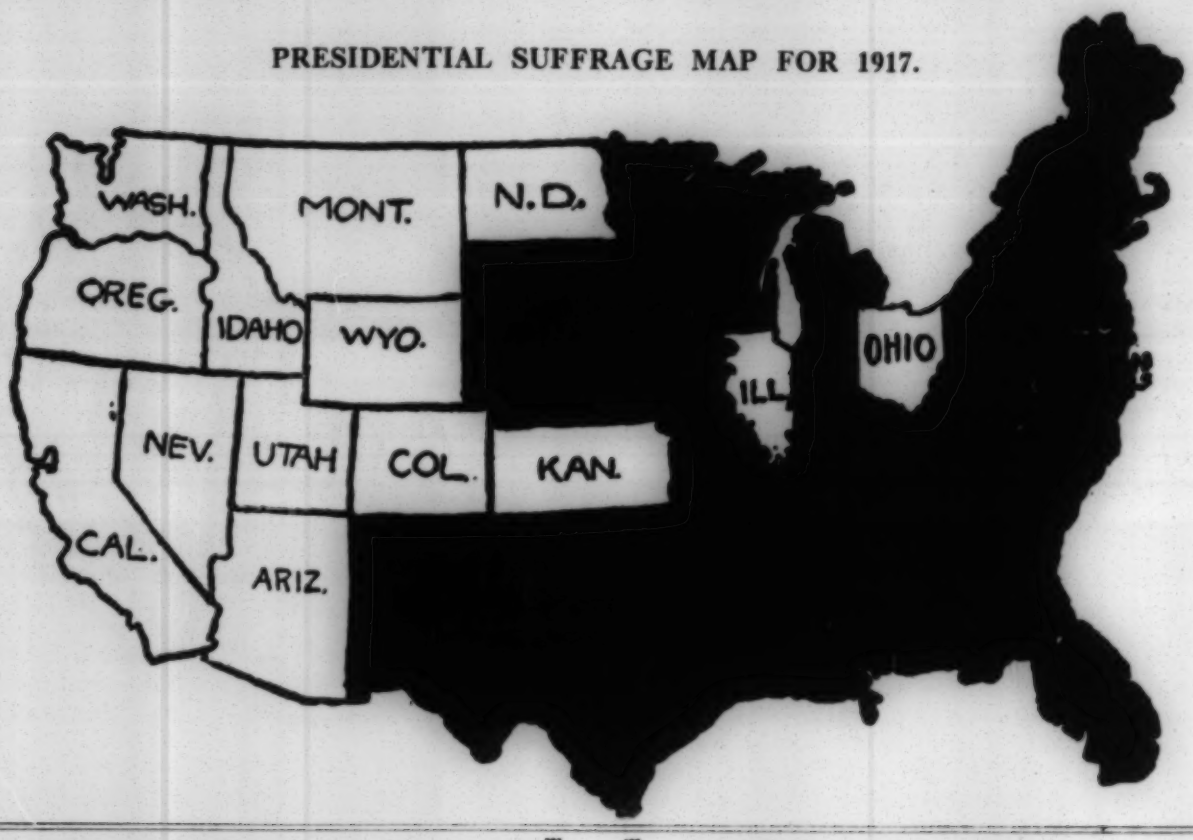
Plans for the gigantic, many-in-one special suffrage edition of newspapers are maturing rapidly under the direction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Thanks to the interest and good will of editors and newspaper proprietors, there will be enough papers in line to plaster the country west to the Rockies and south to the gulf with a huge suffrage sheet. The week chosen for this demonstration is February 19th-26th, though some papers will not have their special editions until during the first week of March. Four pages of suffrage features have been prepared by the "National" for the use of plate-using papers and various special features are at the command of the large dailies that are to give special space to suffrage during February and March. Among the dailies as now listed are the Baltimore *American*, the Detroit *Journal*, the Providence, R. I., *Journal*, the St. Paul *Daily News*, the Minneapolis *Daily News*, the Duluth *Herald*, the Nashville *Tennessean*, etc. Oklahoma newspapers are pledging special support in view of the imminence of suffrage as a campaign issue in that state. North Dakota suffragists find editors very hospitable to the idea of the special editions because of the great suffrage victory just won in the state (presidential suffrage). There will be sixty-five special suffrage editions in this state during newspaper week. Minnesota will have about thirty, Michigan about twenty-five, New Jersey about sixty-eight; Tennessee hopes to have forty. Georgia, South Carolina, Nebraska, Rhode Island, Maryland, Massachusetts, Indiana and Missouri will have special editions. It would seem from present indications that every section of the country will be covered.

"Mister, are you going my way?"

(Lavery in the Cincinnati Post)

HE WAS! Ohio Women will vote for the next President

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE MAP FOR 1917.



"THE ILLINOIS LAW"

Now that presidential suffrage is a popular political issue, there is a constant swirl of interest about "the Illinois law." As the first state to put a presidential suffrage bill into effect, Illinois has given its name to this highly potential measure.

The full text of the Illinois law is given below. It specifies the offices for which women are empowered to vote under it.

(Senate Bill No. 63. Approved June 26, 1913.)

AN ACT granting women the right to vote for presidential electors and certain other officers, and to participate and vote in certain matters and elections.

Section 1. Be it enacted by the people of the State of Illinois, represented in the General Assembly: That all women citizens of the United States, above the age of 21 years, having resided in the state one year, in the county ninety days, and in the election district thirty days next preceding any election therein, shall be allowed to vote at such election for presidential electors, member of the State Board of Equalization, clerk of the Appellate Court, county collector, county surveyor, members of Board of Assessors, members of Board of Review, sanitary district trustee, and for all officers of cities, villages and towns (except police magistrates), and upon all questions or propositions submitted to a vote of the electors of such municipalities or other political divisions of this state.

Section 2. All such women may also vote for the following township officers: supervisors, town clerk, assessor, collector and highway commissioner, and may also participate and vote in all annual and special town meetings in the township in which such election district shall be.

Section 3. Separate ballot boxes and ballots shall be provided for women, which ballots shall contain the names of the candidates for such offices which are to be voted for and the special questions submitted as aforesaid, and the ballots cast by women shall be canvassed with the other ballots cast for such officers and on such questions. At any such election where registration is required, women shall register in the same manner as male voters.

PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE TALLY BY STATES

There are nine states in which a presidential suffrage bill is now pending. They are: Indiana, Connecticut, Minnesota, Missouri, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Nebraska, New Jersey and Tennessee. In six Southern states suffragists have taken the initial steps toward presenting presidential suffrage bills. These states are: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida and Arkansas; Wisconsin also may have a presidential suffrage bill introduced. Arkansas and Texas have bills pending giving women the unique right to vote in the primaries.

Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch

who drafted the Illinois Suffrage Bill.

(She is the mother of four sons.)

THE BRIEF FOR PRESIDENTIAL SUFFRAGE

OPINION OF JUDGE HIRAM T. GILBERT, OF THE ILLINOIS BAR

Clause second of Section 1 of Article II of the Constitution of the United States provides as follows:

"Second. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

Presidential electors perform only duties pertaining to the government of the United States. They are provided for, not by a State law, but by a United States law, to wit, the Constitution of the United States. Therefore, in providing for the appointment of presidential electors, the legislature of the State does not act under the authority and constitution of that State, but solely under the authority of the Constitution of the United States; and the latter instrument has placed the matter of appointing presidential electors in the hands of the State legislature and has given the latter full discretionary power with respect thereto.

It would be within the power of the legislature to provide that presidential electors should be appointed by a vote of a majority of its own members, or it could delegate the power of appointment to any class of persons whom it might see fit to select for that purpose. In fact, its power is plenary. For this reason, it is very clear that it has power to provide that presidential electors shall be appointed by means of a majority or plurality vote of such residents of the State, whether male or female, as it may designate for that purpose.

The only bearing the State constitution might have upon the question would be with respect to those provisions which regulate the manner and form of legislative acts. So long as the provisions of those sections are complied with, no valid objection can be taken to any act of the legislature regulating the appointment of presidential electors.

ABSTRACT OF AN OPINION BY MR. CHARLES LE ROY BROWN OF THE CHICAGO BAR

In a review of judicial decisions and pertinent facts, Mr. Charles LeRoy Brown, of the Chicago Bar, shows the history and practical construction of that clause of the Constitution that bears on the right of State legislators to determine the manner of appointing presidential electors, and from the showing he argues that "if the source of the power of the State legislature to establish qualifications of voters is exclusively in the Constitution of the United States, then no provision in a State constitution with respect to suffrage has any bearing and a legislature is unhampered thereby. The second clause of the first section of Article II of the Constitution of the United States is as follows:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner *as the legislature thereof may direct*, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

In an historic case which came to the United States Supreme Court from the State of Michigan in 1891, Mr. Chief Justice Fuller delivered an opinion that was concurred in by all the other members of the Court. He said:

"The Constitution does not provide that the appointment of electors shall be by popular vote, nor that the electors shall be voted for upon a general ticket, *nor that the majority of those who exercise the elective franchise can alone choose the electors.* It recognizes that the people act through their representatives in the legislature, and *leaves it to the legislature exclusively to define the method of effecting the object.*"

Mr. Brown goes on to say that the early operations under the Federal Constitution make it plain that the State legislatures were universally regarded as having complete power to select presidential electors in any manner they saw fit. Various modes of choosing the electors were pursued, as by the legislature itself on joint ballot; by the legislature through a concurrent vote of the two houses; by a vote of the people for a general ticket; by a vote of the people in districts; by choice, partly by the people voting in districts and partly by the legislature; and by choice of the legislature from candidates voted for by the people in districts.

Mr. Brown sums up as follows:

"The people in adopting the Federal Constitution took away from the States, as such, all control over the manner of appointment of presidential electors. They provided that the electors shall be appointed in such manner as the legislature may direct. The words, 'In such manner as the legislature thereof may direct,' have been held by the Supreme Court of the United States to be a limitation upon the power of the States. As those words are a limitation upon the power of the States, nothing in any State constitution can divest the legislature of the power to determine at any time the manner of selecting presidential electors. In so far as provisions of a State constitution attempt to limit the right of suffrage to men in voting for presidential electors, such provisions of a State constitution are void.

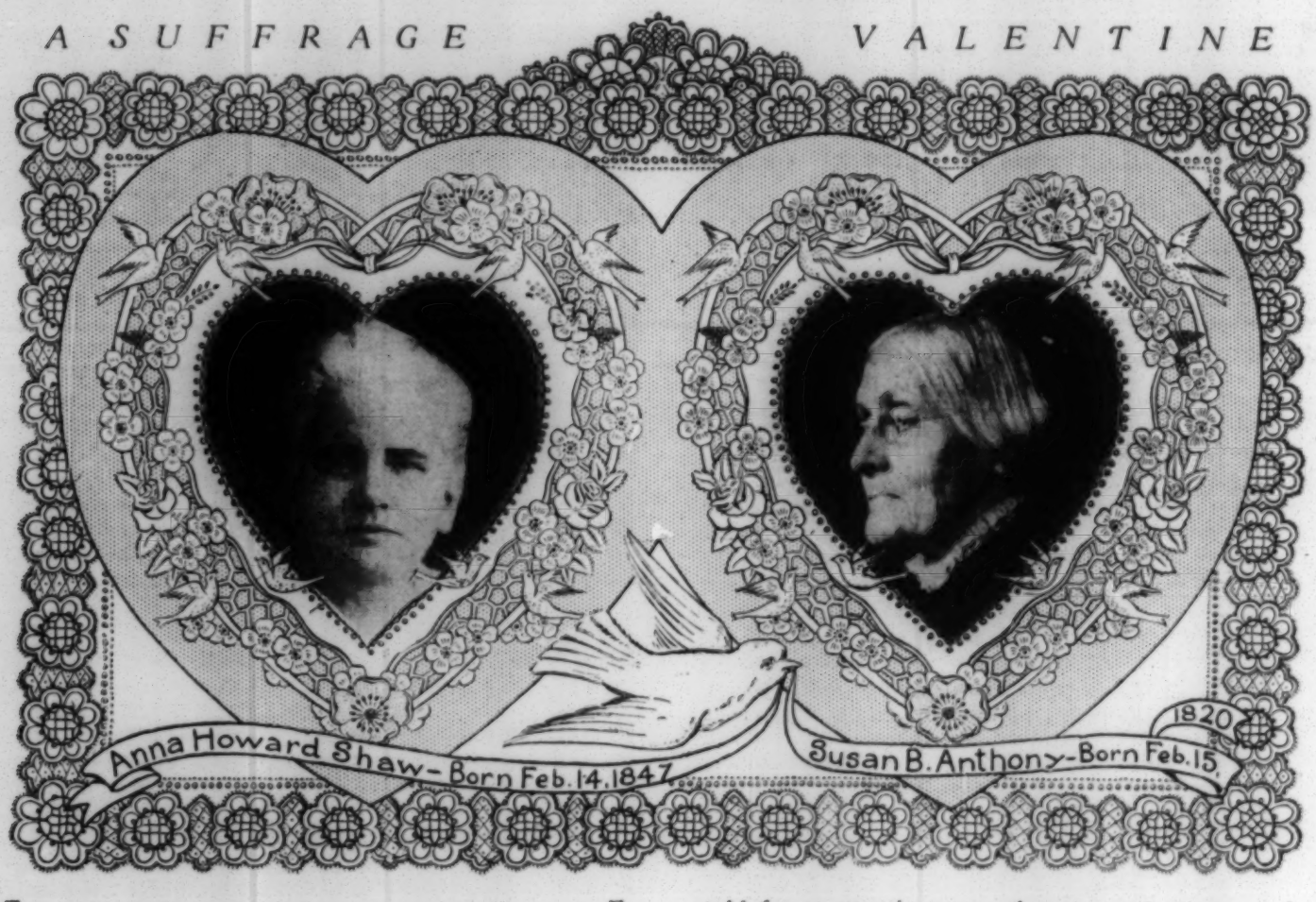
"The legislature of each State has supreme and plenary power over the manner in which electors shall be chosen. That power necessarily includes the right to prescribe the qualifications of voters when the appointment of presidential electors is ordered by the legislature to be effected by a popular election. Any State legislature may itself retain that right of appointment or it may give it to all of its citizens, women as well as men, regardless of any provisions in the State constitution."

WOMEN HAVE 120 ELECTORAL VOTES

(Fourteen States)

Arizona	3	North Dakota	5
California	13	Ohio	24
Colorado	6	Oregon	5
Idaho	4	Utah	4
Illinois	29	Washington	7
Kansas	10	Wyoming	3
Montana	4		
Nevada	3		120

A SUFFRAGE VALENTINE



MISS ANTHONY'S BIRTHDAY

By Anna Howard Shaw

The month of February always brings to the thoughts of older suffragists one name and one annual event—the gathering at Washington in National Convention during the week of February 15th—Miss Anthony's birthday, on which day funds were subscribed for carrying on the two principal lines of work—the Federal Amendment to the national constitution and propaganda and state campaigns.

The name of Susan B. Anthony is synonymous with the Federal Amendment, which was introduced in the Senate through her efforts by Senator A. A. Sargent of California, January 10, 1878, and has been persistently and constantly urged by the National Association in every Congress since. Though Miss Anthony's name will always be linked with this amendment, it is but one of the many lines along which she traversed, all tending toward the same goal —the full enfranchisement of women citizens of the United States.

One of the characteristics of Miss Anthony was her far-sighted and clear vision by which she discerned that, though the goal was one and unchangeable, there were many paths which led toward it, all of which, like the branching streams that swell the water of a mighty river, increasing its force, are helpful in determining its power. So, while many different methods of work were employed, they all tended toward the final recognition by the National Government of the political equality of all its citizens.

Miss Anthony's genius of initiative was remarkable, and no event or opportunity, however trivial, which could focus attention upon the cause of woman suffrage, was allowed to pass unnoticed.

Once, at a convention held in Omaha, Nebraska, the discussion was upon the medical service of the Army during the Spanish War, and the lack of intelligent treatment and adequate preparation for the care of sick soldiers. Miss Anthony made a thrilling speech, pointing out the need of women not only as nurses, but women who could use their experience as housekeepers and caretakers of the family in arranging for its comfort and by right of this knowledge could prepare for the comfort of the ill and prevent the vast amount of unnecessary sickness among the men.

Boys and Bugs

One woman, a strong partisan, thinking the criticism reflected upon the Republican administration, interrupted Miss Anthony by exclaiming: "Dr. S——, at the head of the Medical Department, is one of the greatest bacteriologists of our time." Miss Anthony replied: "That may be; he may know all there is known about bugs, but he does not know anything about the care of boys." The lady turned to me in great anger, saying: "Miss Anthony will find a suffrage argument in anything." "Yes," I replied, "even in the red tape and prejudice which allow brave young men to die, rather than recognize the value of woman's knowledge and experience. That is why people who profit by ignorance, cowardice and self-seeking fear her."

The Crime of Voting

The single incident in her life, which is strangely little known even to suffragists, but which was of the most vital importance in its results, shows her

ability not alone to seize every opportunity to push woman's cause, but her willingness to sacrifice and suffer for it. This is the incident of her voting at the general election in 1872 and her arrest, trial and sentence by the Federal Court. This, as with every act of Miss Anthony's life, was not an act of bravado; she believed the 14th Amendment of the National Constitution recognized that women citizens as well as negro men were entitled to the full rights of citizenship, an opinion still held by many suffragists. The only way to settle the question was to bring a case to the courts, and she offered herself as the sacrifice.

By Way of Thanksgiving

On Thanksgiving, a very appropriate day for such a purpose, when, by the proclamation of the nation's chief executive, the people assembled at their various places of worship to give thanks for freedom, justice and equality, a warrant was served upon Miss Anthony, and she, an American citizen, was arrested for the crime of voting.

The officer conducted her to the court house in a street car, but, evidently disturbed at the situation, knowing Miss Anthony was greatly beloved in her own community, seated himself in the car as far away from her as possible. When the conductor demanded her fare, she said: "Oh! That gentleman is conducting me to court; I am a prisoner and am riding at the expense of the National Government—ask him for my carfare."

Miss Anthony was tried, found guilty and sentenced to one month's imprisonment or to pay a fine of one hundred dollars. When asked by the judge if she had anything to say, her words revealed her sterling honesty, her indomitable courage, her unflinching purpose, and she ended her remarks by holding her hand aloft and declaring: "I will never pay one cent of your unjust penalty, and I shall earnestly and persistently continue to urge all women to the practical recognition of the old Revolutionary maxim that 'Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God.'" Fearing the result if Miss Anthony were imprisoned, the judge hastily remarked: "Madam, the Court will not order your commitment until the fine is paid."

No suffragist should fail during the month of February, or on Miss Anthony's birthday, to read the full account of this trial and the unexcelled address delivered by her, in every school district in the country.

This trial, and scores of other occasions when Miss Anthony stood almost alone in her struggle for women's freedom, makes February 15th a sacred day to suffragists throughout the world.

For Humanity

Other leaders whose birthday occurs in this month were supported by public sentiment and popular applause. George Washington led an armed force of men of indomitable courage and fierce determination who rallied about him. The whole world recognized the right of men to fight for their principles, be they what they might. Abraham Lincoln was backed by a nation of patriotic citizens and a vast army of men in his magnificent struggle to preserve the Union; but Susan B. Anthony, in the beginning, and for years, was the butt of misunderstanding, misstatement and ridicule, with all the prejudice and ignorance of ancient custom, with both church and state against her. But with unflinching fortitude and consecrated purpose she never faltered from the straight line of service and sacrifice which led to the goal of freedom —not for a sex, nor for a race, but for humanity.

SANDS AT SEVENTY

Who that saw her does not remember the spirited figure, gay with the immortal gayety of the ever young at heart, trudging up Fifth Avenue, carrying the palm of victory in that mighty suffrage parade of 1915!

Now she is telling us that she is seventy years old. And we are not believing her. Yet, after all, seventy years is a short time in which to have amassed the wealth of esteem, love and reverence that are hers. Among the many messages of congratulation that she received during February was one from President Wilson, which said:

MY DEAR DOCTOR SHAW:

May I not wish you for your seventieth birthday not only a return to strong health, but the happy anticipation of many more years of useful service? You certainly have many years of self-sacrificing work to look back upon with pride and satisfaction, and I want to join with your other friends in wishing you many returns of your birthday and an increasing happiness as they come.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
WOODROW WILSON.

When Dr. Shaw began her fight for woman suffrage nearly a half century ago there were only a few small voices to support her. Last year suffrage was the dominant element in a national election. Fifty years ago equal suffrage was an academic theory. It is now a fact in fourteen states.

THE SUFFRAGE SCHOOL

One of the activities of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that is commending itself highly to conservative people is the chain of suffrage schools that are interlocking the country.

Concerning the work of the suffrage school in the South, one southern newspaper, the Raleigh *News and Observer*, has been moved to say:

> "We believe in the value of systematic organization. We know of no army that could ever hope to obtain victory which was not organized and directed. That political party which goes into the field of contest without any plan of campaign is pretty apt to be driven to the wall.
>
> "So we think that wisdom is being shown by the advocates of 'votes for women' in their program of giving instruction in the matter of equal suffrage to those who are seeking to obtain the ballot. That such instruction is given the name of a suffrage school is only as a matter of distinction, all that is sought being to give to the suffragists the arguments held to be needed and instruct them in the plans for securing the approval of the people for their cause.
>
> "This morning there begins in Raleigh a suffrage school. We believe that the instruction given at it will be of value not alone to the women, but likewise to the State. It might as well be recognized by the opponents of woman suffrage that we are in the midst of a thinking age, and that women are taking steps to put their arguments before Legislatures and the voters in the best form shows their wisdom. Indeed it shows that they know the worth of the ballot, and are equipping themselves to secure that right for which men have yielded up their lives.
>
> "We commend the suffrage leaders in the program of study and preparation and organization which they have arranged. And we believe that the results will fully justify all the effort that they have put into this plan of campaign for the ballot."

Among the instructors who have been sent out by the "National" are Mrs. Frank Shuler, of Buffalo, Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson, of New York, Mrs. T. T. Cotnam, of Arkansas, and Miss Anne Doughty, of Manhattan.

THE CARDINAL AND THE SUFFRAGISTS

Cardinal Gibbons, who has long been actively opposed to woman suffrage, was recently waited on by a delegation of such representative Catholic women as Mrs. William Prendergast, wife of the Controller of New York; Miss Janet Richards, the lecturer, and Miss Sarah McPike, President of the St. Catherine Welfare Association, of New York. His Eminence said that it was hard for an old man to change his mind, but that he was open to conviction and would give the subject earnest thought.

Cardinal Gibbons's opposition to suffrage is about the only argument left the antis. If he forsakes their campaign, they will be bereft indeed. A large number of devout Catholic women and many eminent Catholic divines are ardent suffragists and they are diligently furthering the suffrage cause with such dignitaries of the Church as remain unpersuaded.

THE LESLIE WOMAN SUFFRAGE COMMISSION

Under a recent court ruling, an order of distribution of a portion of the Leslie fortune, left to Mrs. Catt for use in suffrage work, has been issued. This does not mean, however, that the bulk of the Leslie fund has been released, such release being contingent upon the many delays incident to court procedure.

A corporation, to be called the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, has been established under the law of the State of New York. Mrs. Jean Norris, Attorney, had the matter in hand. Mrs. Leslie's will made the following provisions:

> "All the rest, residue and remainder of my estate, whatsoever and wheresoever situate whereof I may be seized or possessed, or to which I may be in any manner entitled at the time of my death, including the amount of any legacies hereinbefore given which may for any reason lapse or fail, I do give, devise and bequeath unto my friend Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, of the City of New York. (It is my expectation and wish that she turn all of my said residuary estate into cash, and apply the whole thereof as she shall think most advisable to the furtherance of the cause of Woman Suffrage to which she has so worthily devoted so many years of her life, and that she shall make suitable provision, so that in case of her death any balance thereof remaining unexpended may be applied and expended in the same way; but this expression of my wish and expectation is not to be taken as creating any trust or as limiting or affecting the character of the gift to her, which I intend to be absolute and unrestricted.")

Mrs. Catt will turn over to the Commission the administration of the fund and share with other members of the corporation the responsibility of making plans for the disbursements and carrying them into effect. There are five incorporators who by vote will add to the membership of the Commission until it numbers fifteen. These incorporators are: Carrie Chapman Catt, New York; Alice Stone Blackwell, Massachusetts; Harriet Taylor Upton, Ohio; Mrs. Winston Churchill, New Hampshire; Mrs. Raymond Robins, Illinois.

The Commission will establish a National Bureau of Suffrage Education as its chief work. The methods employed for the development of this Bureau and other lines of work will be determined at the first meeting of the Commission.

Campaigns within States will continue to be conducted by the State suffrage associations, and the Federal campaign will continue to be conducted by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. In other words, the Commission will not conflict with the work of present organizations by attempting to conduct campaigns, either national or state.

It will under no circumstances contribute to the overhead or necessary running expenses of the National or State Associations. If the money should be used as a substitute for money which is now raised and expended through the regular channels, the Leslie bequest would in no sense aid the cause.

Any contributions which it may make to National or State campaigns will be in the form of rewards for having raised other stated sums for the same purpose.

WOMEN CALLED TO THE COLORS—1914-1917

By Mary Sumner Boyd

"The determination of State policy and the making of law should be left to that part of the community which may be called upon to support the policy or to enforce the law with arms."—MONROE SMITH.

Since the outbreak of the European War, we have not had to go back to Boadicea to find the woman warrior, nor do we single out a peculiar and unfeminine type when we name the women warriors about whom the press despatches tell.

It was ordinary women who fought by their own doorsteps with any weapon they could lay their hands upon in the streets of Liége in Belgium and of Mulhausen in Alsace, in August, 1914. We never shall know how many other women fought in other towns to repel the invader, but out of the thousands who have fought come the names of a few of those actually enlisted in the ranks.

Mercy Ivanovna, who received the cross of St. George, died in storming the enemy's position at the head of a Russian Company; Alexandra Bashkireva, who received a medal of the same order, and Sophie Ivanovitch are other Russian soldiers whose names we know.

Three anonymous Russian girls quietly took their places in the ranks until wounded and their sex was found out; another escaped from the hospital and re-enlisted. A Russian husband and wife fought side by side, and a daughter followed her father who had been killed in battle. Seven German women in uniform were found among the captured wounded in a hospital in Petrograd. Mlles. Dutrieu and Marvingt and Mrs. Buller are among the allies' aviators.

In August, 1916, Emilienne Moreau, a Normal student of 17, confronted in her own town of Loos in Northern France by siege and occupation, nursed the wounded in her own house, went out under fire to get wood for her dead father's coffin and won French and English medals for courage on the field of battle.

The story of Edith Cavell does not need to be told. From her death one anti-suffragist at least got light. "We know now that there are thousands of such women. A year ago we did not know that they existed," said Lord Asquith.

Three women are named among the military architects of Germany, and in like manner, in work essential to the carrying on of the war, women were employed in the garrison of the 36th Infantry at Calu, and the French Minister of War issued a circular early in 1916 to all military officials instructing them to employ women as often as they could instead of men. Women in great numbers have worked in the military campaigns in every helpful capacity besides fighting.

French women in the occupied territory have held up the courage of their fellow townsmen and organized them to take up life again after a siege. When the mayor of devastated and occupied Guillemont broke down under the strain his wife took over the duties of his office. Mme. Chéron, a teacher, took charge in Buffignereux during a bombardment.

Mme. Macherez, a citizen of Soissons, on the approach of the Germans took over the duties of the sick mayor, managed the hospital and carried the town through a bombardment. Mme. Fiquemont is another who became deputy mayor in a town besieged.

"Nameless heroism," says one despatch, "is displayed by the women every day." These women did not set out to be heroes or to exercise masculine virtues; they simply did the work which the exigencies of war thrust upon them.

One woman stands out for her courage in the defence of her own sex. We hear of a Mme. F—— in the despatches—her town is not named—who hastened the young girls out before the approaching enemy and remained behind, herself, to explain to the German general just what peril—a peril peculiar to all women and to women in all wars—she wanted to save them from.

Between those who fought and those who maintained the institutions of peace during bombardment and occupation stand those women, the largest body of women on the field of battle in this war, who went upon the field to save life.

First of these should be recorded the peasant girl Jalina, whom we are told of in a single line in the newspapers, who went among the wounded under fire to give water to those dying on both sides.

When the war began strangers who were in Germany saw a remarkable sight. They saw the whole nursing force in the German hospitals, which are all organized in the Red Cross, sent to the field or to the base hospitals for the wounded. In the hospitals for the sick were left only a few midwives and some nurses in training.

In this war Dr. Crile* tells us that the field hospitals are for the most part within range of the guns, and nurses and doctors are sometimes shot down at their work. Schwester Marga Von Falkenhausen, struck by a bomb in the hospital at Sissone, was the first of many German nursing sisters killed or wounded. Schwester Elfriede Scherhaus was the first to receive the Iron Cross.

In March, 1916, the French Academy awarded its prizes, and this year the recipient organizations were mainly those engaged in war work. The most important was the Red Cross and the award makes special mention of many women. Among them are Mme. Fontaine, Mlle. Crosse and five Sisters of Mercy killed. The award quotes a hundred army orders referring to women. Of the Comtesse de Gormas and Mme. Gay Lussac one order says: "These ladies remained at their post with the same valor as soldiers in the firing line." Mme. Gay Lussac died from nursing infectious cases. Six nurses of the Société de Secours carried away the wounded under bombardment. Of Mlle. Germaine Sellier and Mlle. Sivon the surgeon general says: "They showed a most magnificent example of military courage."

Nursing sisters of the Holy Saviour, St. Vincent de Paul, and many other orders are found everywhere on the field and in the base hospitals. Nursing sister St. Pierre was wounded at her post. Marie Messin was shot tending soldiers. Sister Bertine conducted an ambulance during the bombardment of Arras. The Nurses of Noyon remained at their posts during bombardment.

Mlle. Marie Rosnet, superior of the hospital at Clermont en Argonne, remained in her village after

* G. W. Crile, Mechanistic Theory of War and Peace.

occupation and prevented the burning of the town. Sister Sainte Susanne of Arras and Mlle. Marie Gilles were both killed by shells at their post of duty. At Lunéville another nurse was killed in the same way. Mme. Gouin of Rheims is one of many nurses in many towns who transported the wounded to cellars when the hospitals were under bombardment. Mlle. Eugenie Antoine of Vailly sur Aisne was decorated by the English for her care of the wounded under fire. Mlles. Cuny, Bertrand and Marie Pierron nursed under fire, the latter making it her task to go out into the woods and search for the wounded.

The work of French school teachers comes in for mention again and again. Mlles. Fouriaux, Lanthiez Cavorrot and Mme. Fiquémont of Rheims were reported to the French Minister of Education for gallant conduct. Another school mistress turned her

MISS HENDERSON OF THE ROUMANIAN UNIT

school into a lazarette. Mlle. Marcelle Semmer, also a teacher, received the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

The Nurses of St. Charles at Nancy had to their credit at the beginning of 1916 over a thousand soldiers nursed under heavy fire. Their superior Sister Julie was given the Cross of the Legion of Honor.

This is a partial list of those mentioned in army orders and in despatches from France. Every day adds to the number, and for one mentioned there are a hundred as anonymous as the soldier in the ranks. This is a war in which the operations are so scattered, the numbers so vast, that we know little or nothing of the exploits of individual men and women. But we do know that the part taken by their women has been the wonder of the nations at war.

"The Crimean War," says an article in the *Common Cause*, organ of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies, "created the war nurse. This war has created the woman war doctor."

The woman war doctor is the peculiar contribution of England. The history of English women on the field in this war has been of hospitals staffed from the head of the medical staff to the lowest orderly by women. There have been literally thousands of these women. Of nurses alone 10,000 are spoken of at one time and there is no public record of how many there have been since. Besides the staffing of the hospitals women have gone out as cooks and to work in other capacities in the camps. In the list of almost 5,000 persons named by Sir Douglas Haig last summer for gallant and distinguished conduct in the field are many women, and in recognition of their numbers the King ordered that in future the military medal be given to women.

Like the French and German nurses the English nurses and doctors were killed at the post of duty. Nurses in hospital ships torpedoed by the enemy responded gallantly to the order "Women first" by claiming their privilege and duty of seeing the sick and wounded taken off first, and so, many nurses lost their lives.

To men in the hospital service military titles are given. For the most part the women doing the same work do not have this recognition, though a few do bear the title of Colonel or Captain. The titles were grudgingly given, and indeed the services of the women were grudgingly accepted at first by the British war office. It was not till the French accepted the English women's hospital units that the English authorities learned their value.

At the beginning of the war the Scottish branch of the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies set about raising funds for hospitals. A district teacher gave £10 from her savings. This was the first donation; since then thousands of pounds have flowed in.

The first hospital went to Calais under Dr. Alice Hutchinson and Dr. Mary Phillips. Dr. Hutchinson served in the Balkan War a few years ago and her experience made hers the model for other women's units which were established at the request of the French military authorities at Royaumont, Troye and other places. The fine Royaumont hospital had as its medical chief, Dr. Frances Ivens, and Mrs. Harley, sister of Sir John French, as administrator. Mrs. Harley is one of many who have received the French Croix de Guerre. She had charge of the transport column, one of whose duties was to pick up the wounded on the field.

The Woman's Hospital Corps is another English enterprise. This group first began work under the French Red Cross in Paris.

Early in 1915 the English military authorities awoke to the value of these medical women and their equipment, so eagerly made use of by the French. They made them a part of the British Medical Service and put Dr. Louisa Garrett Anderson in charge of a large hospital at Boulogne. Subsequently a base hospital at Endell Street, London, became one of the Scottish Women's Hospitals. Of Dr. Anderson's hospital, a medical official said: "You have set a standard which is quite unknown even among the auxiliary hospitals."

In most of these hospitals the whole staff, housekeeping, ward service, business and medical, are women. Among the doctors in this group is one of the few women bearing a military title, Captain Everett McClaren, of the 3d Scottish Military Hospital.

In December, 1915, the first beginning of what is known as the Millicent Fawcett Hospitals was made. Two women were sent out to Petrograd to take care of maternity cases among refugees in Russia. From the care of these poor mothers the work spread to cover many other cases. There are now, under Drs. May, King-Atkinson and other women, 5 hospitals from Petrograd to Kazan, and from Kazan to Galicia. They include an infectious hospital for children and another for soldiers at Volhynia in Galicia. In the latter place the doctors ferreted out concealed cases of smallpox and prevented an epidemic.

One enterprise of the Scottish Women's hospitals group which has been surrounded by danger at every step has been their work with the Serbians. The first of their Serbian Units was sent out by the French military authorities at the end of 1914 under Dr. Eleanor Soltau, to take care of surgical cases at Kragujevatz. Let the *Common Cause* tell this part of the story:

"The Unit found, on its arrival, that it had a far more serious work before it, for the typhus epidemic, which had begun in the disgracefully dirty and overcrowded hospitals left behind them by the Austrians, flowed over Serbia like a flood. No one will ever know what the mortality was from that terrible outbreak, but this we know, that more than a quarter of the Serbian doctors died, and two-thirds of the remainder had the disease, a fact which speaks volumes for the devotion of the Serbian medical profession, and is some indication of what the ravages must have been among the general population. To Dr. Soltau's everlasting credit, she took over, with her small staff and, for such an increase of work, her inadequate equipment, No. 6 Reserve Hospital for typhus cases and No. 7 Reserve Hospital for ordinary medical cases, in addition to her surgical hospital, which was full. The Committee hurried out reinforcements and equipment. For three long months those women worked there, facing the hard work and the long strain with indomitable spirit. There were three deaths among the Unit, young lives given in a great cause, and nine cases of illness, and still the effort never relaxed.

"The British Government sent out a Commission under Colonel Hunter, which did invaluable sanitary work outside the hospitals. There was also a French Commission, and an American one which came out with all the wealth of the Rockefeller Institute at its back. Other units—French, Russian, American and British—took their share of the work—notably Lady Paget's Unit under the Serbian Relief Committee—and at last, by May, the epidemic was over.

"It is a strange, dark, gruesome time to look back on; but one marked by many brave deeds and much unrecorded heroism. It will always be a proud fact in the story of the Scottish Women's Hospital that we took our share, too, in that great battle. At the end of the time Dr. Soltau herself fell ill with diphtheria and was invalided home. After that the Fever Unit, which had had charge of the typhus cases, was sent to Mladanovitz to open camp hospital behind the Second Arm."

The hospitals remained until the invasion of Serbia.

"There is no space to tell of the horrors of the retreat," says the *Common Cause*. "One hospital after another was evacuated, a field ambulance was formed in conjunction with the Serbians, called the Second Serbo-English Field Ambulance, Dr. Chesney and Dr. Laird, the British Medical Officers. This field ambulance trekked over half Serbia during the retreat, always trying to form hospitals, always arriving to find the town they came to evacuated. The hospitals all came down to the West Morava Valley, bringing in every case their full equipment with them, not to any great purpose, for eventually it was all seized by the Germans. Dr. MacGregor managed to put in a fortnight's excellent work at Kragujevatz, where she opened a hospital of 600 beds in the artillery barracks and a big dressing-station, 1,000 cases a week passing through her hands."

Part of the staff of this hospital remained behind at its work, in two parties, one of which, under Dr. Hutchinson, was taken prisoner.

"The last Unit, caught at Salonique, and unable to advance into Serbia, took up the work at that end, and under Dr. Mary Blair, cared for the train-loads of refugees escaping southward, passed them on to the ships, and eventually arrived with some 5,000 of them in Corsica, where they have opened a general hospital,

DR. ELSIE INGLIS

an infectious diseases hospital, where they are doing all the medical work, supervising the sanitation and supplying medical aid to the Serbians in all the villages. Their work not only bears fruit now, but means great things in the future."

In August, 1916, Dr. Elsie Inglis went out with the newest enterprise, to the Roumanian front at Dobrudia. They had to retreat almost immediately, but in the very act of evacuating the doctors treated over 2,000 wounded. The hospital staff was the last group to leave and they passed through burning villages with bombs bursting around them. In this retreat the transport column of eight ambulances, kitchen and supply and repair cars, which is part of the equipment of every Unit, was invaluable.

Miss Henderson, the administrator of the Roumanian Unit, commented on the women's indifference to danger.

"We had German æroplanes over our camps," says she, "but our girls showed the utmost disregard of danger. I heard one girl orderly, lying on her back so as to get a better view of one, say quite calmly: 'It looks exactly as if the bomb might fall into my mouth if he dropped it.'"

WOMEN VOTERS AND ELECTION EXPENSES

If argument were made to-day to exclude any group of male citizens from the electorate, on the ground that their admission would increase the cost of election expenses, the proponents would be consigned to ignominous oblivion without a day's delay. Yet anti-suffragists officially make appeal to this most mercenary and anti-democratic of motives as grounds for denying votes to women. Not only do they do this, they adduce figures that warp the facts almost beyond recognition. For instance, the cost of election expense in a "little election" year—no gubernatorial vote—is compared invidiously with the cost of a "big election" year, when a whole national and state ticket is in the field. They take a year like 1913—which, for reasons unknown to gods and men, was an off-year in election annals in Illinois, a phenomenally small proportion of voters going to the polls—and compare its election expense, more or less vaguely, with the election expenses of 1916. Women were not voters in 1913. They were in 1916. The horizon must be made to gloom and glower during the interim.

"In Chicago the cost of election has increased three times as a result of adding women to the electorate." It takes an anti to make the connection. The clerk of Cook County can't do it. He says that adding women to the electorate has added one-third to the election expenses. In this connection it is of interest to note that the cost per registered voter in New York, where women don't vote—yet—was, in 1914, 2.29; in Chicago, where women do vote, it was 1.84. In 1915, the cost per voter in St. Louis, where women don't vote, was 2.12; in Chicago that year it was 1.095. That is to say, in 1914 at a cost of one and one-half million, one-sixth of the population of New York voted. In the same year at a cost of one and one-sixth million, seven-twelfths of the population of Chicago voted.

Again, anti-suffragists pick a fastidious way among facts, eliminating all those that don't prove what they want proved with a dexterity that is fairly violent. For instance, by selecting state and county "governmental cost payments" as a basis for calculation, they are able to show that the cost of government in a group of non-suffrage states, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, is less than in a group of suffrage states, California, Oregon and Washington. What that means is that the big item of governmental cost payments—the expenditures of incorporated places—is lifted out of anti-suffrage consideration quietly but surely. New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania are full of incorporated places—the "city States" of the east. Ad their cost payments to the state and county cost payments and the total goes sky-rocketing far beyond the ken of California, Washington and Oregon. Take just one example—New York's State and County expense is only about $85,700,000. The incorporated places' expense is $306,000,000!

The subjoined table institutes a comparison of the cost of elections that is illumining.

COST OF ELECTIONS IN VARIOUS YEARS IN CHICAGO

(From Board of Election Commissioner's Report—1915)

	Cost	*Per Vote*	*Per Capita*
1906	$617,854.89	.70	.31
1907	443,781.27	.74	.22
1908	604,998.22	.66½	.29
1909	476,326.64	.83	.22
1910	618,827.63	.74	.28
1911	519,573.18	.56	.23
1912	908,015.98	.79	.40
1913	404,276.74	.97	.17
1914	1,136,976.76	.79	.47
1915	785,069.00	.57	.32

In 1906 there were 1,259 precincts; in 1915 there were 1,587, which is an increase of only 328 and not a "doubling" of precincts as the antis claim.

Note the high cost of the male election of 1912 and its enormous *per vote* cost, because fewer voted in that year than in any election since 1906. The year 1915, women voting, has the lowest *per vote* cost except 1911—one cent lower—and its per capita cost is not high. Complete 1916 figures are not available.

It is easy to say, as the antis do, that "doubling the electorate will double the election expenses." Easy to say, but hard to prove.

Telegrams from the states that now enjoy the benefits of woman suffrage, with none of the disasters attendant upon increased election expenses and increased taxes, are now on file at the headquarters of the New York State Woman Suffrage Party. In every case the telegrams are signed either by the Governor or by the Secretary of State.

WYOMING: "Woman suffrage has not increased taxes in this state nor cost of elections."

COLORADO: "Only increase in cost of elections what naturally accrues from added number of electorate."

IDAHO: "Added election expense infinitesimal."

WASHINGTON: "Election expenses only increase by slight cost caused by effort to keep voting precincts under 250 voters."

CALIFORNIA: "Increased cost of elections because of women voters very little."

OREGON: "Woman suffrage has increased election expenses only so far as naturally they would increase proportionately to increase in number of voters."

ARIZONA: "Increased cost of elections through women voting not worth considering."

KANSAS: "Increased cost of elections insignificant."

NEVADA: "Slightly increased cost of printing additional ballots and compensation for election clerks."

ILLINOIS: The city clerk from Springfield writes: "The increase of election expenses thus far has been nominal and due only to expense incident to printing additional ballots and furnishing extra booths."

MONTANA: "The argument of increased taxation because of woman suffrage is absurd."

FINANCE

By Emma Winner Rogers, Treasurer

Every State suffrage association is specially engaged just now in a money-raising campaign, or in planning for such a campaign. To do this efficiently is of first importance. The National Treasurer has suggested methods and plans for money-raising campaigns both through the NEWS LETTER and in correspondence with State Treasurers and members of the National Finance Committee, and must continually remind these officials and all Finance Chairmen of even smaller suffrage divisions that "Where there's a will there's a way."

The determination to raise ample funds to carry through either State or local suffrage plans is the first essential. The selecting of financial chairmen, deciding on suitable methods and the enthusiastic pressing of financial campaigns will succeed in the measure that determined purpose to accomplish these results is present. Wise suggestions and efficient methods are sure to be seized on by zealous State and local Finance Chairmen to forward the interests of their treasuries.

The National Treasurer is sure that valuable help will be found in the following quotations from the forthcoming efficiency booklet on "How to Raise Money for Suffrage," which the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Co. now has in press, written by Henrietta W. Livermore of New York. The booklet will cover:

A Money-Raising Campaign, Budget and Pledges and Suggestions for Money Raising.

We quote from the first of these three topics:

A.—MONEY-RAISING CAMPAIGN

"The Manager. Suffrage associations are looking for the right kind of woman to be a financial campaign manager. . . . A woman suffragist, tactful, attractive, executive, accurate and optimistic is necessary. Do you know her?

"The Committee. The Committee should begin work at least two months before the campaign. The entire success depends on the planning ahead and thoroughness of work of this Committee and in the selection of captains. At least six should serve on this Finance Campaign Committee. Set the time for beginning and end of the campaign and advertise it. Select a slogan. Decide on the number of teams necessary, amount to be raised, amount you expect each team to raise, the forms of pledges and the forms of receipts and all details of the campaign. Begin an intensive hunt for the kind of captains who will work with a will and who can inspire others to work. Get **at least** six capable captains.

"Scheme. Divide your territory into districts that can be covered by a team. If your territory is a city, wards and election districts are a natural division. If other lines of division seem more advisable, such as denominations, or fraternal organizations or school districts, or social lines, let these be clearly mapped out.

"Have the captain bring in names of the persons to be asked for contributions in the territory to which she is assigned. Have all the lists card-catalogued, both a general alphabetical one for reference, and a **district** card catalog of the names in the territory assigned each captain. Meantime, each captain must be selecting her team of six (more if possible) who will give up the **entire campaign week** to the task.

"The Campaign. Six days should be devoted to the campaign. On Monday have a get-together luncheon, at which the manager, the committee, the captains and teams are present. At separate tables seat each captain with her team. After the luncheon the manager launches the campaign, explains all details and arouses enthusiasm. Each table should be labelled with the number of the team. The card catalogs for each team are then placed on each table, gone over by the team and the names assigned to individuals of the team. Any especially important or difficult names are taken by the manager. Full directions of details of pledge-taking and money-receipting are explained and the necessary paraphernalia given to each person. System and exactness are required. Each member of a team keeps a record **on her cards** from now on of persons seen or interviewed, together with results. These cards are then filed in the captain's file. After luncheon and business are over the teams separate to visit immediately the names assigned and to meet at luncheon on the next day to report results.

"Following Days. Each day at luncheon teams report totals and turn in money received and these amounts are credited to the teams on a large blackboard. A victor's banner is placed daily on the table of the team reporting the largest sums obtained. Let the teams talk over their names after each luncheon and discuss difficulties and plans, separating to canvass as usual.

"Publicity. Clever advertising beforehand helps, a taking slogan, or any local hit or appeal. Posters are useful. Arouse curiosity beforehand and enthusiasm while the campaign is on.

"Whirlwind Campaign. The **end** of the campaign may see any especial form of campaign, utilizing every helper available, a 'dime' campaign, pencils sold on the street, mite boxes, a tag day, or whatever best suits the community. Here is the place for an original stunt. Let the campaign close with a dash and a final dinner or luncheon to which important guests are invited. If you have not reached the amount set, have pledges taken at this final dinner. **You will get the amount."**

ANTHONY APHORISMS

* * *

"It rejoices me every time I find a competent woman in a responsible position."

* * *

"Degradation in the labor market always has been, is today, and always will be the result of disfranchisement."

* * *

"The first duty of every intelligent woman is to devote her best energies to getting the power of the ballot into the hands of all women."

* * *

"I am here for a little time only, and then my place will be filled as theirs was filled. The fight must not cease. *You* must see that it does not stop."

A WORD OF REMINDER

Subscriptions to the NATIONAL SUFFRAGE NEWS are very much in order. Subscription blanks will be found in forthcoming numbers and those whose subscriptions are falling due at this time are asked to renew promptly.

FINANCE—CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED FROM JANUARY 1 TO 31, 1917

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DUES

Nat. Council Women Voters	50.00
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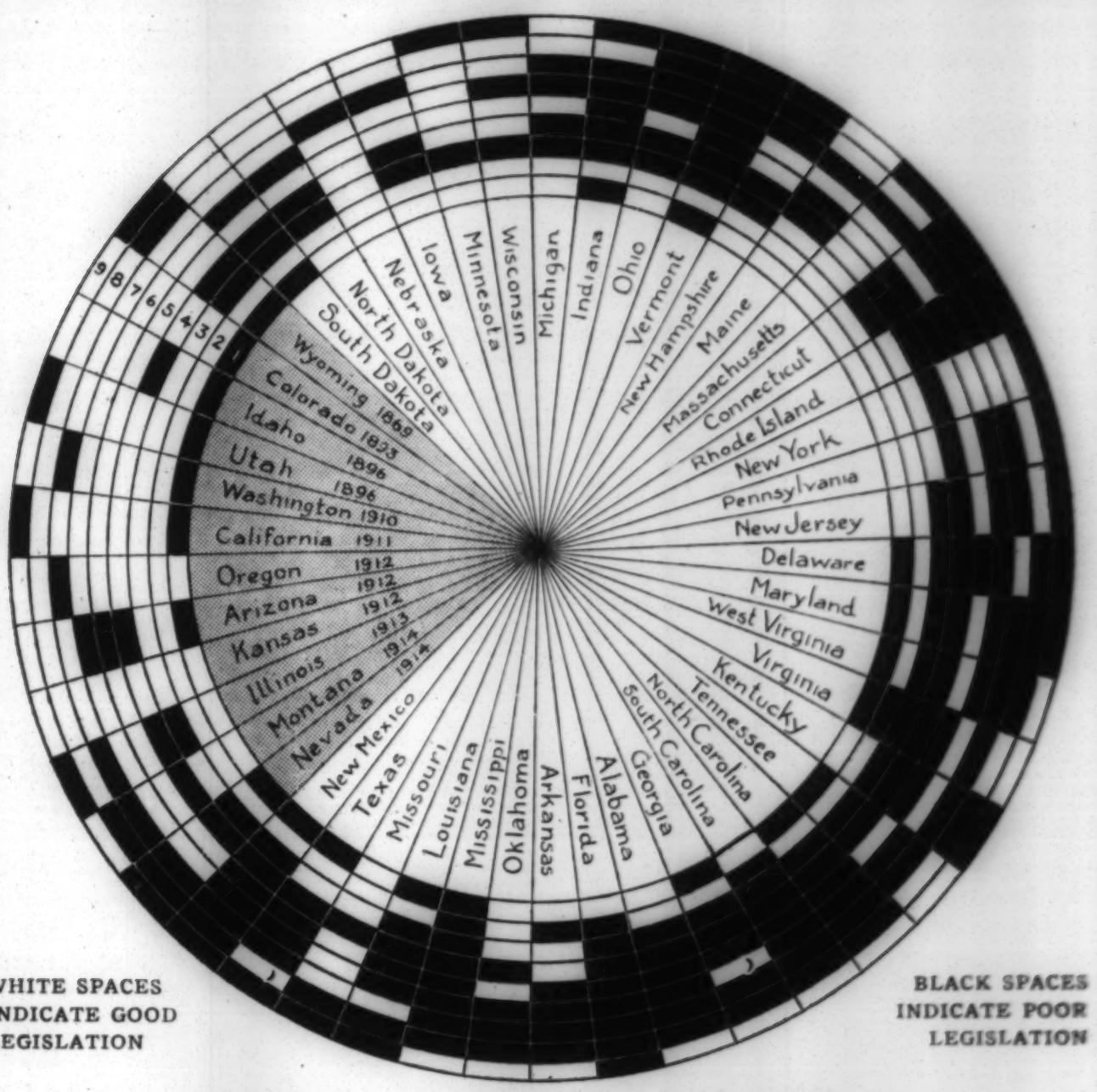

WHITE SPACES INDICATE GOOD LEGISLATION

BLACK SPACES INDICATE POOR LEGISLATION

OR NONE AT ALL IN REGARD TO THE FOLLOWING:

1. **Child Labor—14 years**
2. **Compulsory Education**
3. **Eight or nine hour day for women**
4. **Minimum Wage**
5. **Mothers' Pension**
6. **Equal Guardianship**
7. **Age of Consent—18 years—(Unchaste)**
8. **Red Light Abatement**
9. **Prohibition**

(Chart is based on compilations to date of January 1, 1917. Since that date North Dakota and Ohio have been added to the suffrage column.)

It will be seen that there are in the twelve suffrage states thirty-two black spaces in all, an average of 2.66.

It will also be seen that there are in the thirty-six non-suffrage states 186 black spaces, an average of 5.16.

Judged by social legislation, women and children are, therefore, nearly twice as well off in suffrage as in non-suffrage states.

It is to be remembered in this connection that neither women nor children are employed in industry in appreciable numbers in most of the suffrage states. This accounts for such agricultural states as Wyoming, Idaho, Utah and Arizona, for instance, having black spaces in the first circle. They are without a child labor problem of any moment and they do not put laws on their statute books to cover a situation that does not exist. Wyoming had exactly seventeen children between the ages of ten and fifteen in factories, according to the last United States Census.

Compare the application of the mother's pension laws of New York and of Wyoming. In New York the mother must work when the father is disabled and she receives only ten dollars a month for the first child. In Wyoming a mother is pensioned if the father is disabled, dead, or has deserted the family, and twenty dollars a month is allowed for the first child.

This is the only chart of the kind so far issued with the sanction of the National American Woman Suffrage Association. Acknowledgment is made to Mrs. J. C. Holman, of St. Paul, for the ingenious device whereby the showing is made.

FOR RENT—ONE PEDESTAL

MISS MARJORIE SHULER

It is also for sale—apply to National Suffrage Publishing Company. And it is not a pedestal. It is a book—the story of a suffrage campaign, and a bright and breezy girl's part in it.

The propaganda novel is a difficult proposition, but Miss Marjory Shuler has walked up to it with the same rippling sense of humor and the same buoyancy of spirit that made her a lively and original figure in the "Eighth District" during the 1915 suffrage campaign in New York State. Those who have been through a campaign will read this gay little record with frequent reminiscent chuckles. And those who have not been through a campaign will read it chucklingly just the same. There is a fund of suffrage information and argument in it; there is advice; there is human experience, and woman experience, and political experience. And it is all off-handedly given, so that the reader has the sense of enjoying a breezy book rather than of being tutored in suffrage tactics. One instance will illustrate. Concerning the art of suffrage speaking, the young heroine says:

"My attempt at a comprehensive, logical outline failed completely. No one wanted to hear my speech. Those who stopped for a minute were restless, made comments and soon melted away.

"Finally in desperation I told the story of a little girl who went to have dinner with a great man. All during the meal she was anxious to speak. The great man silenced her. When dessert was served, he asked, 'Now, little girl, what do you want to say?'

"She replied, 'Please, sir, it's too late now. I wanted to tell you there was a worm on your lettuce, but you ate it.'

"As I told the story I realized that my voice had been patronizing like the man's. I began to talk simply about things women want to remedy before it is too late. The crowd grew and grew."

The young author went through the last campaign from *a* to *izzard*, "doing everything, from scrubbing floors to speaking with Mrs. Catt, Mrs. Snowden, Congressman Keating and recently with Mrs. McClung." She carried on the complete suffrage filing system for Buffalo, doing the filing herself, along with various other odd jobs. One of the latter was the running of the Business Women's Club, which she started and made a profit out of, through their fifteen-cent hot suppers. Gradually she emerged as a street corner speaker, having two, three and four speeches every night all the spring and summer of the 1915 campaign and speaking through the country districts as well as the cities. She ran all the press work for the eighth campaign district, the largest in the state, and for the city of Buffalo, the second largest in the state. After the campaign she was elected city chairman and had entire charge of the city of Buffalo. She has been, "for a dim, dark, and forgotten number of years," on the Buffalo Express, and is the youngest officer of any State Federation of Women's clubs, being recording secretary of the New York organization, after two years as its press chairman. She has written children's stories which have been printed in various magazines, but this is her first sustained effort.

She is a member of the Scribblers of Buffalo, an organization limited to 30 members invited for their literary work and containing such illustrious lights as Anna Katherine Green and Marian de Forest, dramatizer of "Little Women" and "Erstwhile Susan." Several of her amateur plays and monologues have been done in Buffalo. That's about all, except that she "adores cooking and hates street speaking."

Her book is issued in an attractive dress at $1.05 postpaid, by the National Woman Suffrage Publishing Company.

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Edited by
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